20¢ AUGUST 28, 1950

New Republic

IS WESTERN EUROPE DEFENSIBLE?

By CAPTAIN B. H. LIDDELL HART

THE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC UNION

By MICHAEL STRAIGHT

OWEN LATTIMORE'S ORDEAL

Reviewed by JAMES R. NEWMAN

HAROLD L. ICKES: THE LOAN TO FRANCO

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New Republic

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PUBLISHED WEEKLY AND COPYRIGHT, 1950, IN THE U. S. BY EDITORIAL PUBLICATIONS, INC., 40 EAST 49 ST., NEW YORK 17, N. Y. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER, NOVEMBER 6, 1914, AT THE POST OFFICE AT NEW YORK, N. Y., UNDER THE ACT OF MARCH 3, 1879. SINGLE COPY 20¢; YEARLY SUBSCRIPTION, $6.50; CANADA AND FOREIGN, $7.50. PRINTED IN THE U. S. A.

WASHINGTON WIRE

THE ADMINISTRATION now is up against the highly complex and explosive problem of peace aims for Korea. It is causing as many headaches and heartaches as the immediate military problems. That country obviously will be a shambles before the fighting ends, and unless the peace aims are handled with the utmost care, Korea could still be the spark for a general war. State and Defense Department planners, in fact, always have believed that the real crisis in Russo-American relations may come when United Nations forces take the offensive.

Washington officials are looking into their history books as they work into the night on peace aims, and what they find does not make them any happier. Russian military leaders, before and since the revolution, have regarded Korea as a highly important strategic area—and so have the military leaders of China and Japan.

Korea was a pawn in Far Eastern power politics long before most Americans knew anything about it. The Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95 and the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-05 were fought to determine which power would control the Korean peninsula. When Moscow gave orders for an attack on South Korea, strategic problems obviously were a major consideration.

In order to try to calm Russian suspicions (if that is possible), Warren R. Austin, the American delegate, was instructed to tell the Security Council last week that a free and independent Korea "will not in any way threaten the security of the Soviet Union." Austin said he was sure the United Nations would give Russia assurances on that point.

The great fear here is that Russia, seeing the UN forces in Korea on the offensive, may occupy the country down to the 38th Parallel or take some other action that would either provoke a general war or make the Korean problem more insoluble than ever.

It's pretty clear now that the General Assembly, not the Security Council, will be the important agency in planning the future of Korea. Top American officials are convinced that the UN must play the leading role in formulating peace aims, and Austin last week pledged the United States to abide by the UN decision.

Feeling in Washington as well as in London is that the suggestion of Sir Benegal N. Rau, the Indian delegate, that the non-permanent members of the Security Council be given the task, has helped focus attention on problems of peace aims. But Washington doubts that it will form the basis for a Security Council decision. Rau's suggestion, however, and Austin's speech are encouraging indications that progress is being made in the thinking of US and UN officials about what is to be done in the future. Mark down one plus sign in an otherwise unproductive month for the Security Council.

Opposition to the $100 million Spanish loan voted by the Senate is building up in the House. But it may be too slow to do any good. A feeling that a negative vote won't be effective, except in arousing political opposition, paralyzes a number of House members. Curiously, public opinion generally seems numb to the implications of the Senate's action. Leaving Franco out of it, the Senate vote was an amazing arrogation of power. Elmer Davis asked Secretary of State Acheson whether there were any other rugs lying around which Congress could pull out from under the State Department. Acheson replied that if there were any he was sure they would be found.

How long are the American people going to tolerate the arbitrary, bureaucratic and narrow-minded administration of the immigration laws? No wonder the rest of the world thinks we talk one way and act another. It took the immigration service 21 months to decide whether a former White Russian, who wanted to enter the US with her American husband, was a safe person. When Mrs. Valentina Gardner tried to enter

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the country, she made a mistake in answering questions because she did not understand English. She said she believed in the tenets of the Soviet Union when she meant to say she did not. For that slip of the tongue she was held in a cell in San Francisco for 13 months. Finally, because some interested citizens appealed to the courts, she was released on bond last Christmas. But she could not be cleared without a ruling by the Attorney General and the Secretary of State. Since there was no evidence against her except her inadequate knowledge of the English language, Mrs. Gardner finally was cleared last week.

Are you feeling the pinch? Well, you aren't alone. Administration economists fear that the inflationary pressures are greater than had been realized. The fact is that they were strong and getting stronger even before the Korean war started. The Council of Economic Advisers has just brought its tables up to date and has found that the economy was about ready to pop at the seams in May and June.

Notes. Although Britain long ago recognized the Chinese Communists, relations have never been established between London and Peking. The Chinese have no one in London and the British have not been able to get an Ambassador to Peking. They are represented by a consular officer who stayed on after the Nationalists left. . . . There's some talk of trying to put Formosa under a UN trusteeship arrangement. The subject will come up in the General Assembly. . . . Senator Wiley (R, Wis.) urges the Administration to avoid an involvement with the Chinese Communists. That isn't what the Knowlands, Bridges and Wherrys have been saying, is it? . . . The Congressional "ins," whether Democrats or Republicans, are worried. They think the tide is against them. . . . US stockpiles are far lower than they should be, partly because domestic producers object to government purchases overseas. . . . The three chief targets of Russian propaganda are Wall Street, Tito and the Vatican. . . . Since Truman can hardly do any campaigning this fall, the Veep may be called upon to make the swing for him.

Washington T. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE

MacArthur and Ickes

SIR: In an article entitled "MacArthur, the Unready," published in the July 17 issue of the *New Republic*, Harold L. Ickes has indulged himself in some reckless statements regarding the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers.

Among other items, Mr. Ickes states that General MacArthur "was caught flat-footed in Korea." He also says that "thanks to General MacArthur, South Korea was ill-prepared to defend itself." These statements are serious charges against the first man to hold the position of commanding general of UN forces, and it is presumed that no honest citizen would make such charges without investigation and proof of his allegations.

If Mr. Ickes is ignorant of the facts in this case, he could have easily obtained them by inquiry at the Pentagon or at the State Department in the national capital. If he had made such inquiry, Mr. Ickes would have discovered that General MacArthur had not the slightest responsibility or authority in Korea. Prior to the establishment of an American Embassy in Korea, General MacArthur had a strategic-command responsibility, but even then General John R. Hodge reported directly to the State Department on civilian affairs and to the War Department on Army administration.

When Ambassador John J. Muccio arrived in Seoul in 1948, the State Department assumed complete authority over all military as well as civilian affairs in Korea, and after the Twenty-fourth Corps was pulled out, the Ambassador exercised authority over the military personnel assigned to assist the South Korean Government in the organization and training of its military forces. The military mission in Korea had no connection whatsoever with the Far East Command, and General MacArthur was permitted no authority whatsoever over its operations, over the organization and training of the South Korean army, or over military intelligence in the Korean area. . . .

All this information Mr. Ickes could have obtained by inquiry at the Department of State or the Department of Defense. This jurisdiction was no secret. Accordingly, we are led to believe that Mr. Ickes deliberately misrepresented the facts to the readers of the *NR* and engaged in character assassination by so doing. . . .

A student of public affairs is tempted to delve a little more deeply into the motives for the attempt of Mr. Ickes to assassinate the character of General MacArthur. Could it be that Mr. Ickes was moved by an urge for revenge for some real or fancied grievance? . . . It is interesting to note that in the year 1944, after General MacArthur had landed at Leyte in the Philippines, Mr. Ickes aspired to appointment as United States High Commissioner to the Philippines. Naturally he was aggrieved when General MacArthur vetoed the plan for sending Ickes to the Philippines as High Commissioner.

General MacArthur's opposition at this time was not to Mr. Ickes personally. Rather, General MacArthur was opposed to the appointment of any civilian as High Commissioner on the scene while the military campaign of liberation was still in progress. In this matter, General MacArthur was everlastingly right. The sending of any High Commissioner, and least of all Mr. Ickes, would have inevitably led to confusion and conflict in authority. . . .

KENNETH COLEGROVE,
Professor of Political Science,
Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

SIR: It would seem that Professor Colegrove holds General MacArthur in a lower estimation than I do. MacArthur either knew, or should have known, at least certain rudimentary facts with respect to the situation in Korea. According to an article in the New York *Times*, MacArthur apparently flew recently to Formosa, of his own volition, to talk with Chiang Kai-shek. It also appears that, disregarding announced Truman policy, he promised the former Chinese dictator support against the Chinese Communists. This visit was closely followed by the delivery of American jet planes and American aviation gasoline to Formosa. If the right or the duty rested upon MacArthur to keep an eye on Formosa, there was an even greater responsibility to maintain some sort of surveillance with respect to Korea. Unlike Professor Colegrove, I respect MacArthur's resourcefulness and boldness to such a degree that I do not doubt that he could have managed that South Korea would be in some position to defend itself. It is interesting to me that Professor Colegrove, while vehemently denying my statement that MacArthur was caught flat-footed as to Korea, is silent as to my other allegation that he was caught flat-footed in the Philippines after Pearl Harbor.

I thank Professor Colegrove for his admonition that "no honest citizen would make such charges without investigation and proof of his allegations." He suspects on my part some "real or fancied grievance" against General MacArthur. He even generously supplies a suggested "real or fancied grievance." It seems that "in the year 1944 . . . Mr. Ickes aspired to appointment as United States High Commissioner to the Philippines." Even this gem is not so intriguing as is his further statement that "he [Mr. Ickes] was aggrieved when General MacArthur vetoed the plan."

Both statements are silly, and the

(Continued on page 23)

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VOLUME 123, NUMBER 9, ISSUE 1865, NEW YORK CITY, AUGUST 28, 1950 New Republic

THE PRICE OF LEADERSHIP

IN THE NAME of their "duty under the American two-party system," the Republican members of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee have issued an "analysis" of our policies since 1945 which amounts to a cynical and dishonest rewriting of history, designed to play politics with Korea. Senators H. Alexander Smith (N. J.) and Henry Cabot Lodge (Mass.), usually classed as moderate or liberal members of the minority, joining with Senators Alexander Wiley (Wis.) and Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa), signed their names to a document which attempts the impossible task of reaffirming bipartisanship in foreign policy while making the results of it a campaign issue.

These four Republican leaders charge that "the major tragedy of our time was the failure and refusal of American leadership in 1945 to recognize the true aims and methods of the rulers of Soviet Russia." They follow this bald claim with a series of lies:

"To this failure," they state, "can be traced the disintegration of our armed forces. . . ." The obvious truth is that the demobilization which occurred after 1945 was due to the general spirit of the American people with regard to armaments and in large part to the attitude of the Republican 80th Congress.

"To this failure adequately to understand the Soviet mind and purposes the major troubles of the world today are due."

As examples, they cite:

"The partition of Germany"—in fact, a policy decision of the US Army.

"The failure of our leadership to insist upon . . . limitation of the veto power . . . in the United Nations"—in fact, a concession by the Administration to Republican isolationists in Congress in order to win bipartisan support of the UN Charter.

"The fact that truly effective international inspection and control of atomic energy . . . have not been established"—in fact, the result of irreconcilable differences in viewpoint with the Soviets.

"The loss of freedom . . . by the peoples . . . behind the Iron Curtain. . . ." With the Soviets already in possession in Eastern Europe, it would have been necessary to go to war to prevent extension of the Russian orbit, and Republicans were no more prepared to take this course than Democrats.

Throughout the six-page indictment of Administration handling of our foreign affairs from the time of the Yalta and Potsdam conferences, there is a convenient forgetting of the essential fact that Soviet Russia sat in those meetings as our wartime ally, with 10 million dead as her sacrifice. To talk of "the price we paid for unnecessary token participation of Soviet Russia in the war against Japan," or to argue that under our Far Eastern policy, "the Kremlin was, in effect, given a green light to grab whatever it could in China, Korea and Formosa," is the sheerest nonsense. Soviet Russia, as a free agent, has not waited for our invitations.

Had this attack come from a Wherry, a Bridges or a Knowland, there would have been nothing especially surprising about it. The Senate and the Administration by now are hardened to what the President has properly called "contemptible" talk from Senate Minority Leader Wherry. But for such a show of irresponsibility to originate with two such pretenders to statesmanship as Senators Lodge and Smith, with the claimed approval of Senator Vandenberg, is deeply deplorable. The conclusion must be drawn that these gentlemen have decided a chance for Republican victory is dearer than truth or honor. Their conduct in this instance is all of a piece with the Republican Party's closing of ranks behind McCarthy.

The younger and more "liberal" Senators on the Republican side have endeavored to persuade the nation in recent years that there is a fundamental difference between them and the Taft-Wherry wing of the GOP. A real test of the degree of their responsibility is at hand. Are they willing to pay any price, no matter how high, for the privilege of continuing as the nominal spokesmen for their party on foreign policy? Has Senator Lodge, in his driving ambition to win his party's nomination for the Presidency at some future time, agreed to coöperate in supplying the party with juicy election material this year, in order to stay on friendly terms with the Taft-Wherry elements whose support he will need later on?

It is hard to assign a more charitable interpretation. The Republican critics have offered the country no alternative and better course. The proposals suggested by the minority are indistinguishable from the program which the Administration has been following. After attacking the Democrats for trying to deal with the Rus-

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sians in the past, the Republicans vaguely propose only that we "redouble our efforts" to do just that in the future.

There is need for constructive opposition and enlightened debate on America's relations with the rest of the world, but the "liberal" wing of the Republican Party in this instance has failed utterly to provide leadership in that direction.

INDIA AND PEACE IN ASIA

ALL LAST WEEK, India was in the spotlight at Lake Success. The Indian delegate, Sir Benegal N. Rau, had suggested tentatively, without making it a formal resolution, that the six non-permanent members of the Security Council should form a special committee to work on plans for a possible settlement of the Korean situation. Before the week was over, US delegate Warren Austin had gone a long way toward accepting the Indian position, by a speech repudiating any American designs on Korea and welcoming the idea of eventual free elections throughout the entire country, under UN supervision, to set up a new democratic government.

The difficulties in the way of peaceful settlement of the Korean dispute are, of course, still tremendous. The 53 UN powers which are supporting the action there, and most of all the US, are determined that the fighting must not end on terms which seem to reward or appease the North Korean aggressors and their Russian mentors. Russia is equally determined not to let the war end on our terms. Both sides have the veto in the UN Security Council, and neither side would hesitate to use it. Nevertheless, Austin's friendly response to India's initiative is of great importance, for two reasons. The first is that every possible effort should be made, every avenue explored, to bring the war to an end at the earliest possible moment compatible with the aims for which we are fighting.

The second reason, while less compelling, is also important. This is that Nehru and his government occupy a unique and invaluable place in the worldwide scheme of things, and it is essential that the West should understand his position, work with and through him, use him as a bridge of understanding to the millions in Asia. Nehru is now the only statesman of stature in that continent, occupied by half the human race, who is not directly tied to the West, either to Moscow or to the democracies. He is in a key position to interpret the East to the West, and to help put out the remaining fires of well-justified resentment over the white imperialism that has cursed that part of the world for centuries.

When we listen to Nehru, what do we hear? It is plain that he is deeply troubled about American policy toward Formosa and toward Indo-China; and with good reason. The action in Korea is a legitimate United Nations action regarding a clear-cut case of aggression. But in Formosa, as we said last week, our policy every day looks less and less like a mere demand for suspension of the Chinese civil war—which President Truman described it as being—and more and more like unilateral American intervention in that civil war. It is an intervention which carries the threat of bringing us into full-scale hostilities with the Chinese Communists, which might well mean, among other things, the sending of such reënforcements to the North Koreans that we could be pushed off the Korean peninsula into the sea.

Our action in Indo-China, equally complicated, looks to Nehru, and, as far as we know, to all of Asia, like support of French imperialism against the legitimate aspirations of the natives of the country as well as against the Chinese-supported native Communists. It is imperative that all these problems should, as quickly as possible and to the utmost possible extent, be brought under the aegis of the United Nations. There should be formal statements by the UN—and by the US in particular—that they seek no future disposition of these areas that runs contrary to the wishes of their own inhabitants.

Another important point in Nehru's program is particularly complicated and difficult at the present moment. Nehru wants the Chinese Communists to become members of the United Nations, and, in principle, he is right. Just as diplomatic recognition of one government by another should carry no moral implication whatever of approval or disapproval, but should be based solely on whether it is in possession of the territory and willing and able to meet its obligations, so membership in the UN should rest similarly on the facts of the case. Yet to bring in the Chinese Communists at this moment would be to give way to the Russian blackmail of which the Korean war, in the largest sense, is a part.

Before that war started, the United States had said it would not use its veto against the seating of the Chinese Communists in the Security Council. What is needed now is a formula for reconciling that earlier position with the facts of the present case. Such a formula is not outside the reaches of diplomacy. If it can be achieved, and if our dubious position in Formosa and Indo-China can be legitimized, we shall have taken a great step toward regaining the good will of Asia. We shall also have opened the doors for a negotiated peace in Korea that will not constitute a betrayal of the United Nations' aims.

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THE WEEK

BACK TO RENT CONTROL

An important part of our total defense program—extending rent control for at least another year, especially in large industrial cities—must be acted upon before Congress adjourns this summer. After several efforts to include rent control in the Defense Production Act had failed in the House, Chairman Brent Spence of the House Banking and Currency Committee promised that a separate rent-control-extension measure would be brought up before anyone went home.

Under the present law, rent control will expire December 31, unless cities take "affirmative action" to extend it or there is a state law. So far, only three large cities—Chicago, Boston and Jersey City—have taken such action. As a part of the defense program in the event that the Korean war continues, Housing Expediter Tighe E. Woods has asked Congress to pass amendments strengthening the present law. Last week, four members of the House Banking and Currency Committee heeded his request by introducing a bill which would give the Expediter power to:

- Recontrol any area where the housing shortage is serious.
- Control areas that have never before been under rent control, and also place controls on special types of housing such as new construction, trailers and hotels.

The bill would do away with the local decontrol provisions of the present law and prohibit states from writing laws in conflict with the federal one. It would extend veterans' preference for new construction housing through June 30, 1952. Criminal penalties would be provided for violations.

Introduced by Representatives Barratt O'Hara (D, Ill.), Hugh Addonizio (D, N. J.), Isidore Dollinger (D, N. Y.) and Richard Bolling (D, Mo.), the bill is accepted as being the Administration's effort to tighten up and extend federal controls in view of the war.

The most serious housing-shortage area today is the West Coast, which has already felt the impact of the Korean conflict by a growing military population. This is also the area in which the real-estate and landlord lobby has concentrated its forces. Its power was apparent last week when Housing Expediter Woods failed to prevent decontrol by the Los Angeles City Council, even after a survey showed that the habitable rental vacancy rate was only nine-tenths of one percent. Judge Kirkland of the Federal District Court (D. C.) has issued an order restraining the action before a hearing on August 24.

LYNCH LAW, WHOLESALE

The hysteria whipped up by Republican efforts to push a Communist-control bill through Congress before adjournment is rapidly spreading to local governing bodies. Governors, mayors and city councilmen have seized on the issuance of local anti-Communist ordinances as a means of gaining publicity in the current popular crusade against Communism. The local proposals that have been suggested run the gamut from banning the New York *Daily Worker* from Detroit newsstands to "hang-all-Communists" legislation proposed by Governor James Duff of Pennsylvania.

Birmingham, Alabama, was the first to take the law into its own hands. On July 17, the City Commission voted to outlaw the Communist Party within the city limits, giving Communists 48 hours from publication of the notice to get out of town or risk arrest and a possible $100 fine and 180 days in prison. Within a few days, a local Communist Party organizer was jailed on a vagrancy charge.

Mayor Charles A. Kincaid of McKeesport, Pennsylvania, has sent his City Council a proposal requiring "all persons engaged in the promotion of Communist activities" to register with the local police department. The Detroit City Council has voted to ban "subversive" literature on city newsstands. The Syracuse Common Council has asked the city's attorney to rule on whether the city can outlaw the Communist Party. When the Michigan State Legislature went into special session August 15, one of the primary proposals before it was a bill outlawing the Communist Party.

The "little Mundt-Nixon" statutes are growing in number. Last week the City Council of Atlanta, Georgia, copied the Birmingham ordinance outlawing the Communist Party and introduced another one which requires the chief of police to inform the City Council of all known Communists in the city. The Ku Klux Klan is today enjoying a sudden increase in respectability in Georgia. Sam Roper, head Klansman, says that interest in the KKK has greatly increased since the Korean invasion: "Truman's action in Korea proves that the Klan has been right all along on the Communists."

MORE SOCIAL SECURITY

Congress has finally passed an expanded social-security program which will add some 10 million persons to the 35 million now covered by old-age benefits. It will raise pensions of those now covered by an average of 77 percent, and will double payments for those retiring in the future. However, the conference report on the bill approved last week contained a destructive amendment by Senator William Knowland (R, Calif.) which deprives the Secretary of Labor of authority to withhold unemployment-compensation funds from states which fail to meet federal standards in their state compensation systems. Administration Democrats failed to remove the amendment, by a House vote of 188 to 185.

Representative Walter A. Lynch (D, N.Y.) led the opposition to the Knowland rider, warning that it is "a real threat to the rights which labor has gained over the years through collective bargaining and progressive legislation." The present law, he explained, provides that states cannot deny unemployment compensation to an otherwise eligible worker for refusing new work, if the position offered is vacant due to a strike, lockout or other labor dispute, if wages or hours are substantially less favorable

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than those prevailing for similar work in the locality, or if as a condition of being employed the individual would be required to join a company union or to resign from a bona fide labor organization.

The Senate passed the conference report on social security by voice vote. No opposition was voiced, despite the fact that President Truman had expressed disapproval of the Knowland amendment. Although the measure contains this provision and fails to cover as many persons as he wanted, the President was expected to sign the bill into law this week.

A LOOK AT THE WETBACKS

LOS ANGELES (NR correspondent)

The problem of the "wetback"—the illegal Mexican immigrant—became clarified during the hearings of the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, held in Los Angeles early this month. "Corporation" farmers admitted they were using wetbacks on their ranches, said they intended to keep on using them, and argued that $2,000 a year is an adequate wage for field workers. Furthermore, they said, the big growers, the labor-procurement associations and the labor contractors fight among themselves about the wage to be paid the man over whom they have virtual life-and-death power, yet the responsibility for his housing, for the payment of the money promised him, for his recreation and his sanitary standards cannot be clearly fixed on any group.

Ernesto Galarza, Research Director of the National Farm Labor Union, told the Commission that the chief method for evading wage, employment and welfare standards is the use, for field work, of illegal entrants, who dare not complain about their slave conditions.

Constantly increasing unemployment among American agricultural field laborers, coupled with the steady increase in both illegal and legal Mexican entrants, has puzzled the Commission. They asked nearly every witness why Americans were not taking the jobs being filled by imported labor. The reasons given were that native Americans refuse to work in citrus groves or to do "stoop" labor. Keith Mets, of the Imperial Valley Farmers' Association, added that during the depression "many of our Americans were forced to do hard stoop labor," bringing the comment from Noble Clark, member of the Commission, that "You are telling the Commission you cannot continue your enterprise with American citizens except in periods of depression when they are willing to accept a lower standard of living."

In the opinion of the corporation farmers the best remedy for the farm-labor employment situation is still HR 5672, introduced July 18, 1949, by Representative Harold A. Patten of Arizona, and by Senator Clinton Anderson of Arizona as Senate Bill 272. Under this proposal the Secretary of Agriculture would determine when there is a shortage of farm labor. The Commissioner of Immigration and Naturalization would prescribe regulations permitting the admission of "native-born residents of North America, South America, and Central America, and the islands adjacent thereto" into the United States in whatever quantities and for whatever periods of time the Secretary of Agriculture suggested.

The growers' greed for cheap labor may soon line up all American organized labor against them. Thirty AFL unions have complained about the competition they are meeting from wetbacks and other Mexican nationals who have violated their agricultural contracts and are working in other lines for less than prevailing wages.

THE WASHINGTON POST

"We don't want to economize on anything that's really non-essential."

RAILROAD TROUBLE

The government's refusal to take possession of and operate the nation's railroads has resulted in a series of "limited" strikes which may develop into an emergency if the 17-month-old wage-and-hour dispute is not settled by the end of this week. Efforts at mediation were dropped and a five-day strike call was issued for 3,000 yardmen in Louisville, St. Paul and Cleveland, when President Truman turned down the request of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen and the Order of Railway Conductors for government seizure to avert a strike.

Last September, the railroads awarded a 40-hour week and time and a half for overtime to nearly one million workers, without reduction in their previous 48-hour pay. The BRT and the ORC later asked for the same consideration for their 85,000 members in yard service, plus some concessions for 215,000 other employees who are paid on an hourly and mileage basis. The railroads refused. After months of argument, the President's Emergency Mediation Board stepped in. On June 15, the Board recommended a 40-hour week with an 18-cent increase in pay (equivalent to 44 rather than 48 hours) but gave no concessions to workers who are on a mileage basis. The railroads agreed but the unions turned down the report. Since that day, the unions have been free to strike, but, in view of the Korean crisis, they voted on July 10 to stay on the job and attempt further negotiations.

For the past week, Presidents W. P. Kennedy of the trainmen and R. O. Hughes of the conductors have been in daily conference with President Truman's staff mediator, John R. Steelman. Twice they have requested government

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seizure to avert interruption to essential railroad transportation. Primary blame for lack of settlement can be placed on the lack of coöperation from the railroads. The presidents of the roads concerned have not even attended the mediation conferences, sending instead lawyers and subordinate officials to represent them.

OUTSIDE AMERICA

Thoughtful Europeans who still consider the politics of peace-making a high form of creative art say that the American technicians of total diplomacy are confusing the properties of the tools of war with the possibilities of assuring peace.

The critics recognize, of course, that the confusion is aided and abetted by the problem of the audience. The American policy-makers have to play at the same time to the Europeans who, because of their geographical situation and historical experience, are desperately eager for dependable assurances of peace, and also to the cash customers—the gentlemen on Capitol Hill who have voted the credits for MAP and various other devices intended to implement Secretary Johnson's formula that the only way to save the peace is to arm Europe.

But to the European audience, American total diplomacy is anything but skillful. The psychological discord between the two sides of the Atlantic, which has been growing steadily worse, has now reached the point at which American methods of assuring peace are bringing into serious question the acceptance of the assumptions on which they are based. Now and then, there is a note from America that thoughtful Europeans can recognize and accept. For example, there was General Marshall's remark that "we should not place complete dependence on military and material power." But there are few George Marshalls. And to Europeans even a just-short-of-complete dependence on the military and material is too much.

It is all very well for Secretary Johnson to say to Americans that Soviet aggression is the determining factor which overwhelms and displaces all others; that Soviet reliance on military and material powers shuts off all paths to peace other than one that leads to almost total militarism in the West. Even in Korea, the Russian version of total "diplomacy" relied on economic, social and political factors, at least as preparations and supports for the use of arms. In the Europeans' view, the Johnson attitude doesn't quite justify American singlemindedness. On the contrary, the Europeans note that the American policy isn't entirely a product and expression of the cold war; it is also a continuation of the expediency that goes back to Vichy in 1940.

Until recently the Europeans of the Right who welcomed American Vichyism also welcomed its present stress on the military factors. In the period immediately after the war, the political and economic implications of this emphasis served the partisan purposes of the European Right; only the men of the Left were in the opposition. Now, however, Right and Left are being forced closer together in a common opposition to American policy because of the feeling that it subordinates the creative possibilities of the art of politics to technical procedures that can only be destructive. Moreover, there is a growing feeling that the Americans are deliberately denying the realities of the West-East relation in order to keep their audience on Capitol Hill.

The American notion of "reality" is that the USSR, while not desiring to fight a major war today, will want to when it is fully prepared in the military sense. In 1949, the date was set at 1952. Now it has been put off until some time between 1953 and 1954. But the European notion of "reality" takes into account factors other than military.

Competent observers who have been in the Soviet Union come back with reports of widespread discontent. They say that the discontent can be controlled so long as Marshal Stalin lives, because he is credited with having saved the country from Hitler. And also so long as Stalin lives there will be no major war started by his country because he never loses sight of the example of Hitler—a man who made national greatness in the material sense by methods short of war, only to unmake it disastrously by war. When Stalin dies, men like Mao Tse-tung, who are willing to take orders from him now, won't be willing to take them from any conceivable successor. Forms of Titoism will appear in places like Poland and Czechoslovakia. The Soviet combine will begin to disintegrate and, though each schismatic portion will remain Communist in one form or another, it will not be a dependable part of the huge war machine of which the Americans seem so frightened.

While President Truman thought, not long before Korea, that the world had never been closer to peace, Pope Pius said about the same time that "the ruinous cold war threatens to burst into an incomparably more disastrous hot and burning war." While Americans think the Atlantic Community can afford to spend at least three or four billion dollars a year on guns, the Pope says butter is the problem; he has gone on record as saying that hunger and the threat of unemployment in Europe have been endangering peace.

The Vatican is of course even more anti-Soviet than the American government, but in the art of politics the men at the Vatican understand the proper relation between the instruments and the music. A year ago, even six months ago, the Holy See followed and Washington led in European politics. Now the Holy See has started to act separately and independently. The reason was the Vatican's recognition that the Americans were beginning to conduct psychological warfare *against* the Europeans' belief in the possibility of maintaining the peace. Neutralism was spreading, the appeal of the Stockholm declaration was growing. Something had to be done, and the Vatican did it. The first overt sign was the Schuman plan.

Americans had better notice that it is the Vatican, and not their government, which is taking the leadership in the effort to win the psychological word magic of peace away from the Communists. And American liberals had better notice that, in Europe of today, the default of their government also means Vatican leadership for a "progress" which doesn't coincide with American liberal ideas.

PERCY WINNER

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THE PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC UNION

by Michael Straight

FOR THE foreseeable future there is no basis for conciliation with Russia. The Western nations face an enemy determined to offset their superior resources by perpetuating their disunity, and to weai down their will to survive by prolonging a relentless struggle with no visible end. Their answer can only be to pool their resources in a common effort and to give positive meaning to this struggle by making it a time to advance toward one free world.

The Western nations are committed to achieve both military security and higher living standards. Just as security compels the integration of the armed forces of the Western nations, the raising of living standards requires the integration of their economies.

As Robert Boothby, a Conservative, declared in the House of Commons:

> Some form of integration, both economic and political, is bound to come. If it does not come by voluntary union it will come by way of empire. It nearly came by way of Hitler's empire. It may still come by way of Stalin's empire. We now have to break down national sovereignty by practical action in defined spheres of activity, and to use modern technical progress to build up a coördinated, complementary and expansionist western economy.

Our government has believed that the basis of an expansionist Western economy is the free movement of capital, trade and manpower among the Western nations. It has recognized the barriers of this free movement: the protection of high-cost producers, the national controls required for domestic planning in Socialist countries and, above all, the tremendous disparity between the productivity of the United States and Western Europe. Given these barriers, our government has sought, as a first step, a free market within Europe large enough to bring about a high and rising rate of productivity.

For these reasons the Marshall Plan advanced along two lines: support of the national recovery programs of all the participating countries, through the joint allocation of American aid; and combined action to liberate trade within Europe and to achieve the multilateral settlement of trading accounts among European nations.

By the end of this year, 75 percent of European trade will be freed from restrictions. The European Payments Union will be in full force. The United States had underwritten the dollar losses of the EPU; it is ready to provide funds as public works for men unemployed as result of the liberalization of European trade.

Beyond these measures lie the pooling of Europe's coal and steel resources; the combined development of electricity, textiles, machine tools and other basic products, proposed by Dr. Dirk U. Stikker, head of the Organization for European Economic Coöperation; the coördination of fiscal policies, and the joint enforcement of free trade. At these levels, the problem has arisen: can Socialist and free-enterprise economies be joined?

Germany, Italy and Belgium, for example, collect very little in taxes, and pay out very little in public works and social services.

Scandinavia and Britain stand in sharp contrast. Britain collects capital levies, confiscatory death duties, high corporate taxes, and income taxes rising to nineteen shillings and sixpence in the pound (97.5 percent), to finance family allowances, old-age benefits, medical care, and subsidies for producers and consumers.

A free movement of resources between these economies would threaten a shift in wealth and resources to the low-tax, low-cost areas, causing dislocation and unemployment in the nations with high taxes and services.

Again, Germany, Italy and Belgium have followed deflationary policies, cutting imports and pushing exports by holding down consumption and tolerating unemployment.

Britain, in contrast, has redirected consumption by means of food and housing subsidies, purchase taxes, bulk buying and bans on domestic sales of export items. She has controlled production by allocations, licensing and nationalization. She has maintained a huge excess of purchasing power, protecting high-cost producers by inordinate profits.

These contrasts, for the same reasons, prohibit economic union. One group of nations stresses security, the other enterprise; between them, naturally, barriers to trade have persisted.

Yet the same trends are at work in all Western nations. Italy has expanded its public-works program. Britain has moved away from autarchy. The workers want higher take-home pay rather than more costly social services; the middle class is relating thousands of minor complaints against officialdom to a general conviction that the individual is better able to determine his needs than is the government. The Socialist nations have reached the limits of that internal social change during which a further transfer of wealth from richer to poorer offers significant gains to the majority of the people. They are coming to recognize that from now on the need is for the creation of new wealth, and that the

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This is the second of a series of articles under the general title, "Can the Western Nations Unite?" The third will appear in an early issue.

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solution lies less in Socialism in one country than in action on a world scale.

Today an entirely new situation has been created for Western Europe by rearmament. It heightens the urgency and the opportunity for economic union.

Western Europe is committed to rearmament *and* recovery. On no other condition would its weary and hard-pressed peoples undertake rearmament today.

Rearmament requires an increase in arms expenditures from today's $4-billion levels for Western Europe, to $10 billion or more. This figure, based on a unified procurement program, represents almost 10 percent of Western Europe's gross national product. If the procurement of necessary weapons is handled on a national basis, then inefficient small-scale production will boost minimum expenditures far higher.

Belgium and Germany possess idle capacity and unemployment. Italy is still in a slump. Britain and France, in contrast, are in inflation today. If the slack in Europe is taken up by a unified procurement program, then the pressures on living standards in nations fully employed can be contained.

Under the best conditions, inflation is inevitable for all Europe. For most European nations, taxes are already close to upper limits; wage pressures are mounting; shortages are still acute; living standards are close to minimum levels.

Rearmament creates an equal threat to Western Europe's balance in foreign trade. Until now, in contrast to Asia, Western Europe has moved toward a balance in total trade and a specific dollar deficit. Now, if Europe rearms, the situation will be reversed. Increased US production will lead to greater imports into this country, including raw-material imports from the sterling area and the continental dependencies. But these gains will be more than offset by Western Europe's own losses. Its own import needs will rise as production increases; its capacity to export will fall as factories are converted to military use.

The United States has undertaken to provide Europe with $3 to $4 billion a year in military aid. Most of this aid will be in finished military equipment. Five hundred million dollars a year is in Additional Military Production, fuel, copper, steel, and items to be used in Europe's own factories, for Europe's armed forces. This aid may help save Europe from occupation but it will not close her dollar gap, or keep enough consumption goods on the shelves of her stores to hold back inflation. To check ungovernable inflation, and prevent the loss of dearly achieved living standards, the United States will need to continue Marshall Plan aid for the forseeable future at the rate of $1 billion to $1.5 billion a year.

Going on with economic aid to Europe is in our self-interest. We are dependent, not only on the continued well-being of Europe, but on the continued progress of Asia toward the minimum living standards that democracy requires. Our own capacity to export capital to Asia will be diminished by domestic rearmament. At the same time it is not in our own or Europe's strategic interest that the basic industries of Western Europe should concentrate on armaments production. Long-range reconstruction, and now strategic necessity, require the restoration, through American credits, of the triangular movement of capital goods from Europe to Asia, raw materials from Asia to America, essential supplies of all kinds from America to Europe.

Continued aid to Western Europe is in our self-interest: the Marshall Plan is almost at an end. The ECA may return to Congress for continued appropriations; but in the absence of a wider program, Congress is likely to balk, and Europe to suffer.

Our first battle is to win recognition of the need for continued aid. Yet it may be a losing battle in the absence of a larger plan that would bring understanding of today's dangers and opportunities into every American home. For Americans will also be reacting to unbalanced budgets, increased taxes, rising prices, emergency shortages and the threats of controls, or of inflation and labor unrest.

There is no real distinction between military and economic aid, either in the materials shipped or in the purposes for which aid is given. Yet as long as the two programs are held separate, it is inevitable that the military program will tend to succeed at the expense of the economic one. Short-range objectives will always favor military strength.

If we do no more than attempt to continue the ECA along present lines, economic aid will suffer for the further reason that Americans will regard it as a unilateral program for which Western Europe gives nothing in return. The very substantial aid that Britain has extended to Asia, and the lesser investments made by continental Europe, have been hidden from Americans, partly because Europeans still wish to keep exclusive control of their colonial possessions. From now on, for security reasons, we need to ensure that the national efforts of the raw-material producers are integrated in an over-all program. And, for psychological reasons, we need to make an economic program a two-way street, so that Americans feel they are not alone in giving.

A third reason why the mere continuation of existing programs is inadequate is the conviction, here and in Europe, that all the strenuous efforts now called for will prove futile in the end. Americans sense that Europe is clinging to neutrality and passivity. They fear, with good reason, that the commitments of the pact are not impressed on the hearts of Europeans, and that at any time a government might come to power, in France or

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Italy, which would repudiate these commitments and throw down our weapons or even use them against us. Europeans, in turn, are not persuaded that we intend to do more than buy off a Communist victory with economic aid, and to arm Europeans to fight a delaying action across their farms and cities, in our national interest.

Our interdependence is real enough; our minds are surely made up. What is needed is to make explicit and understood, to all peoples, what is implicit and still unknown. Endless, overlapping committees may debate details behind closed doors; but the great stroke of declaring that the resources of the West will be viewed in common and devoted in fair proportions to a common effort, has yet to be made. At this moment of danger we are grappling with the periphery of our problem and ignoring its heart. There are military reasons for military unification and economic reasons for economic unification, but the basic reason in both cases concerns the spirit of free but separate peoples. Those who serve obscure and half-hearted causes must withhold their energies and hoard their resources. "Those who serve supreme causes," as Churchill declared at Strasbourg, "do not consider what they can get but what they can give."

HOW TO PAY FOR THE WAR

by Helen Fuller

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S financial advisers generally agree that the gravest mistake of World War II was the failure to levy taxes heavy enough to pay for it as we went along. That failure, they point out, left us with a huge burden of government debt and tremendous potentialities for inflation. Yet the present plan is to allow American corporations to continue pocketing extra billions in windfall profits from the Korean war, all the rest of this year, without exacting any special tax premium from them.

The "first-instalment" tax program with which the President and his Secretary of the Treasury have told Congress they will now be content is totally inadequate to place us on a pay-as-you-go basis, to equalize the sharing of the costs of the war, or to hold back inflation. All that is proposed is to restore individual income-tax rates to about where they were before the Republican tax cut in 1948, and to increase corporate taxes from the 32-percent rate scheduled before the Korean invasion to 45 percent on income above $25,000. This would yield about $5 billion of added revenue. Requests for defense spending already total $20 billion and may very possibly reach $35-$40 billion before the year is out.

In recommending this action to Congress, the President warned that "this interim measure alone will not be enough" and that "it will be necessary, when the necessary studies can be completed and when the extent of our new obligations can be more clearly determined, to raise still additional revenues. . . ." Since then, Truman has added that he thinks we should have an excess-profits tax but that Congress should postpone consideration of this question until after November when it presumably will "be over the election jitters." While we wait for election day to pass, billions of dollars of accumulating profits will be adding inflationary pressures, and Soviet propagandists will be making capital of the fact that those Americans most able to pay are paying proportionately the least.

The "necessary studies" for which the President was waiting are largely completed. Detailed advice on the fiscal and credit policies suited to the present emergency has been prepared by the staffs of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, and the Council of Economic Advisers. All these experts agree on the need for large additional amounts of money, and how to get it.

Our goal should be to raise another $15 billion through taxes next year. The rates that will be required to bring in that amount will be so steep that even those who recognize the necessity of higher taxes will probably howl. Stiff taxes on the wealthy will not be enough. Middle-income and even low-income families may be asked to sacrifice more heavily.

Government tax economists believe that individuals can stand a higher income-tax rate than the "interim" plan will provide. A general increase of 15 percent instead of the approximately 10 percent called for in the pending tax bill would not be too much, they feel. And we may have to repeal the provision allowing married couples to split their incomes for tax purposes (which the Treasury estimates robs us of $800 million a year).

Fortunately, there is an abundance of corporate fat on which to draw. Corporation profits after taxes this year are expected to average two and a half times what they were at the peak of World War II—about $25 billion in 1950 as compared with $10 billion in 1943-44. National City Bank records on 420 leading corporations show that net profits after taxes in the last three months were 52 percent higher than those reported by the same corporations for the first quarter of this year.

Corporation taxes could well be raised to 50 instead of 45 percent but probably should stop at that point. Beyond that, an excess-profits tax on the individual who is realizing most heavily on his investment is a fairer

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levy, since a general corporate tax hits the man on the way down in the profits scale as well as the one on the way up.

The principal difficulty in framing an excess-profits tax is in defining what is "excess." One school of Washington economists favors this kind of tax only as a means of draining off war profits, and advocates that average profits these last three years be accepted as normal. An excess-profits tax figured on that base would have yielded zero had it been in effect during the second quarter of this year.

Another group of economists believes that profits have been "excessive" for a long time and that to be equitable an excess-profits tax should take some percentage of 1947-49 profits as its base rather than accepting the full earnings of those years as the norm. Senator Joseph C. O'Mahoney (D, Wyo.), chairman of the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, has introduced a bill which takes 75 percent of the 1947-49 profits as the base above which a graduated excess-profits tax would apply. His formula, had it been applied in this last quarter of 1950, would have yielded $3.8 billion more government income.

Others in Congress argue that the O'Mahoney program still falls short. In drafting a new excess-profits law, they say, the intelligent procedure would be to raise the base above which the tax will apply in proportion to the increase in our gross national product since the old wartime tax law was written. The base for a new excess-profits tax should then be three times what it was in World War II, and the profit-ceiling above which a premium tax would be charged should be set at approximately $15.35 billion instead of the $5.4 billion at which the old wartime tax began. Even if, to be generous, the tax were set to start at a 60-percent base, the yield still would be only about $5 billion a year, a long way from the goal.

Whatever formula is decided upon for the new excess-profits-tax legislation, the whole program must be drafted so as to discourage the kind of extravagance which was so widely practised under the wartime law and which largely defeated its anti-inflationary purpose.

The Administration is hoping that a contract-renegotiation bill now being speeded through Congress will be immediately helpful in preventing profiteering. The measure which Chairman Carl Vinson (D, Ga.) has brought out of his House Armed Services Committee would give the government authority to reprice any orders placed with contractors doing $100,000 of government business a year or with subcontractors handling orders for more than $25,000 a year. A Renegotiation Board, under this bill, could review contracts at any time and reduce prices at its discretion. Industry lobbyists are swarming over Capitol Hill trying to limit renegotiation to those cases where "firm and final pricing is impracticable at the time the contracts are let."

In World War II, even with a high excess-profits rate, with excise taxes, and with personal-income taxes up to 90 percent at the top and substantially above 50 percent for a wide range, we raised only 45 cents in taxes for every $1 spent. To have raised 100 percent would have meant almost trebling the rate to the mass of the population, since those earning more than $5,000 were paying out half of their income in taxes and any increase would have had to involve also the low-income groups. Under those circumstances we chose deficit spending. To make the same choice again will be to risk great and perhaps permanent inflation. To pay a much larger part of our war bill as we go this time will necessitate much more than excess-profits taxes.

Serious study is being given to the possibilities of selective excise taxes, as a means for both drying up demand for certain shortage goods and services that utilize scarce labor and for revenue purposes. The immediate outlook is for continued production of considerable quantities of most consumer goods. There will be materials enough, for a while longer at least, to fill the need for military equipment and still turn out five million automobiles a year—too many to ration by any device except high pricing. If price rationing is to be employed, why shouldn't the government do it by an excise tax which would bring the money directly into the treasury and sponge up potential black-market dollars in the process? Attention is being given to the wartime British Purchases Tax as a possible model. The British divided all goods into three classes—necessities, which were tax free; ordinary comforts, on which a 60-percent excise was levied; and pure luxuries, which were taxed at 100 percent. That principle may guide us in extending excise taxes into new areas: ration what everyone should have; tax to the limit those scarce consumer durables people could do without.

If, after an across-the-board increase in income-tax rates, higher corporate taxes, a special excess-profits levy, and heavy new excise taxes, more funds are still needed, a general sales tax will have to be considered. Senator Harry Byrd (D, Va.) has already suggested a 10-percent sales tax, with food exempted, as a way to raise $7 to $8 billion a year. The tremendous pressures for a sales tax which existed in 1942 and 1943, when a sales-tax bill once failed by only one vote in the Senate Finance Committee, will be resumed if the Korean war continues.

When Congress gave Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau the choice, during the last war, of a sales tax or a deficit, he chose to do without revenue rather than accept a general sales tax as a permanent element in our tax system. It is not clear that that would be the proper view to take again. If a sales tax

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became the last hope for draining off enough consumer purchasing power to stop inflation, liberals would be wrong to hold to the traditional notion that it is taboo. Although a sales tax would temporarily have the same effect as inflation, administration advisers are coming to the conclusion that, in modern economics, inflation inflicts by far the greater permanent damage.

The mobilization authority which President Truman has requested from Congress does not include the fiscal and monetary controls needed to back up direct price and wage controls if inflation is to be avoided. At their best, as the Federal Reserve Board experts have pointed out, "direct controls do not prevent inflation so much as postpone some of its impact." It is clear that another $15 billion should be diverted from civilian spending to prevent a serious inflationary spiral. Talk of postponement of new taxes until 1951 is irresponsible. As Senator O'Mahoney has said in advocating immediate imposition of an excess-profits tax, "Unless we are willing to use the profits of the profit system to defend that system in the present ideological conflict with communism, we had better prepare to confront disaster."

IS WESTERN EUROPE DEFENSIBLE?

by B. H. Liddell Hart

WHAT IS THE REAL situation of Western Europe's defense at present? How far could it be developed within a year or two? Is it practicable without the Germans' taking part? These are vital questions that urgently call for attention—and examination.

In an effort to find the answers to them, I have just returned from a long tour of the Continent. I found, on this tour, that even in the highest quarters there was a tendency to see only a part of the problem—or to avoid looking at it at all, because it called for a bigger effort and reorientation than democratic leaders, with an eye on votes, were willing to attempt.

In seeking the answers to these questions, the first need is get the problem clear in our minds. We must determine so far as possible the kinds of danger we may have to meet.

The first kind of danger is the purely political and psychological campaign that has been identified as one side of the "cold war"—the spread of Communist ideas coupled with an underground campaign to foment discontent and disorder among the people of the various Western countries. That development has been to some extent counteracted by the growing distrust and fear caused by physical threats, but it remains a considerable danger—particularly in Italy and nearly as much in France. I saw disturbing symptoms there.

The second kind of danger embraces political infiltration followed up with military action by Russian satellites—"camouflaged war" on Russia's part. Korea has been a striking illustration of this camouflaged war, which I forecast in my 1945 book, *The Revolution in Warfare*. What happened in Korea could be repeated in Germany, where the Russians have already turned the so-called "People's Police" of their zone into a highly trained and equipped military force. Most of the people I met in Western Germany were desperately worried about this, and felt that the Western Powers had been perilously slow to see the menace—through looking back, instead of forward.

The third danger is an invasion of the West by the Russian armies themselves. It might be made after, and in support of, a move by the East German Communist forces. It might also be made without any such preliminary move, as a retort to American intervention in Korea, when the bulk of America's present limited strength has been drawn to that quarter. This would make a Russian offensive in the West all the more difficult to meet.

The decisiveness of any such invasion of Western Europe could be greatly enhanced if it were accompanied or immediately preceded by a strategical surprise attack on the British Isles with an airborne force or other new means. That aspect of the third danger has been overlooked in most discussions of the problem and I will deal with it at more length later. Our continental neighbors, who naturally tend to focus their eyes on the land front and their own frontiers, are even more inclined than our own authorities to ignore such a possibility and the way it might hinder the dispatch of reinforcements from England to the Continent.

A fourth kind of danger arises from Russia's progress in developing atomic power—much sooner than you in America had reckoned. While it may be difficult for her to overcome America's lead in the production of atom bombs, or match you in a Russo-American bombing duel, she might more effectively use any atom bombs that she has produced to retaliate on Western Europe if the Americans bombed her centers. A few atom bombs dropped on the capitals of Western Europe might cause much greater paralysis there than a larger number dropped in Russia. She might also use the threat of such

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This is the first of a series of three articles on the defense of Europe. The second, to appear in an early issue, will deal with the attitudes of the French and the Low Countries.

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devastation to deter those countries from getting America to bomb Russia as a counter to a Western advance by the Red Army. Some of these countries might not be hard to overawe by such a suspended menace.

A fifth kind of danger lies in a new submarine blockade of the Atlantic sea-routes, cutting off American aid to Britain and the continental countries of Western Europe. The latter, it seemed to me, are too apt to overlook this menace, and its potential effect on their own situation. It could be a grave threat if the Russians have developed effectively the radically new types of submarine design which fell into their hands, together with some of the designers, when they overran Germany's Baltic bases at the end of the last war. Hitler's schnorkel-equipped Type XXI "electro-submarines" could remain submerged for weeks at a time if necessary, and were nearly twice as fast as earlier types. The improved Walther Type XXVI, with hydrogen-peroxide propulsion, had the promise of still greater speed and operation efficiency. Unfortunately, the British and American Navies still have a scarcity of new anti-submarine craft fast enough to cope with such a menace. Meanwhile the authorities tend to rely on Russia's poor record in the naval sphere and presumed dubious capacity to exploit the new submarine potentialities. One can only hope that such reliance is still justified.

The most immediately apparent of these dangers to Western Europe lies in a repetition of Korea in Germany. The East-German police force under Soviet control has now been trained and organized on a military basis for at least two years. According to Allied information, it comprises tank, artillery and infantry units, with a high scale of equipment provided by the Russians. This force is 50,000 strong, and may be more. If the occupation of Germany were to end, and the Allied armies withdrawn, it could dominate the situation. As I could see for myself, there is nothing in West Germany to match it. The police there are localized as in England, trained purely in police duties, and unarmed. They do not even have as much of a military air as in pre-Hitler times.

Before I went to Germany I had heard rumors that the Americans were taking quiet steps to prepare the formation of a force similar to that in East Germany. It seemed a sensible precaution, but in the course of extensive inquiries I found no substance for such rumors, and much evidence to the contrary.

The Allied occupying forces, so long as they remain, should be capable of warding off an invasion by the Communist "police" force from East Germany, though they might have their hands full if such an invasion were carried out by subtle infiltration on guerrilla lines.

Far slighter, however, is their capacity to withstand an invasion carried out, openly or otherwise, by Soviet Russian forces. In the British Zone there are two divisions—the 2nd Infantry and the 7th Armored. In the American Zone there is the 1st Infantry Division and the well-equipped US Constabulary, which provides the equivalent of an armored division. Behind this, in the French Zone, there is the 5th Armored Division and two infantry divisions, none of them yet well-equipped.

There is no indiscreet disclosure in enumerating this meager total; the figures have been given by Paul Reynaud, the former French Prime Minister. Moreover, the location of the divisions is clearly signposted, so that anyone who travels through Western Germany can see it, and add it up. The state of the equipment is equally easy to observe: for example, the French armored division still has to make do with the obsolete Sherman tank, while the British have the more modern but underpowered Centurion tank.

What forces lie behind this thin protective screen in occupied Germany? Reynaud said: "We have four divisions in France, two divisions in North Africa, and could mobilize 40 if we could arm them." But one of the best informed French military critics told me that only two of the four divisions in France were at present in a state of readiness for action comparable even to the three French divisions in Germany. (I refrain from giving any figures gathered from my discussions in official military quarters.) It is clear that the present operational strength is very small compared with that of the prewar army, although the actual number of men in the service is nearly as many.

While shortage of equipment retards an increase in the present small number of divisions, this is not the only restricting factor. Only 12 months' conscript service is still the rule in France, and that would in any case severely handicap the production of trained divisions fit to operate in the field. During my talks in Paris, I found that the most that the government was considering was an increase to 15 months' service.

There is now a higher proportion of regular soldiers than before the war, and these could be utilized to form a larger number of operational divisions, in a state of instant readiness for action. But about half the total are abroad, mainly absorbed in trying to cope with the Communist-fomented civil war in Indo-China, while the remainder are training the conscripts or providing a leaven for them.

Small as is the scale of the French Army ready for action, that of the other countries in Western Union is much smaller. Belgium is free from the drain of colonial troubles, but her army, like that of France, is handicapped by dependence on conscript service of one year's duration only, as well as by lack of equipment. There is only one existing division, stationed in Germany and incomplete. I saw it in the Cologne area. The formation of

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another is proceeding, and a third might be produced on mobilization.

The Dutch Army has a similar-sized framework, but it is only in the planning stage, owing to the drain of troops to the former Dutch East Indies, caused by the prolonged Indonesian troubles. The fact that "the cupboard was bare" at present was frankly admitted by those to whom I talked.

Could Britain rush across the Channel any substantial support to the scanty forces in Western Europe? The answer is that there are no operational divisions in Britain. The nearest is the 1st Division, now stationed in Northeast Africa. That and the two divisions in Germany are the only operational forces that the British Army has—apart from the garrisons of Malaya and Hong-Kong, already tied up there by Communist activity.

What more could be produced under present plans? While no official statement has been made, it was said in well-informed transatlantic quarters that the Western Union authorities planned to form by 1952 a first-line force in Western Europe of 18 to 20 divisions—to meet the immediate shock of any invasion. Of this number, the French were to produce nine to ten divisions and the British five to six, the balance being made up by the Belgians, Dutch and the American force in Germany. The USA would provide equipment under the Military Aid Program to enable the French, Belgians and Dutch to create a second echelon, of similar scale, which could be mobilized within a few days, making a total of some 35 divisions. Later a third echelon could be formed and equipped.

Even with that, the total would amount to much less than the scale of 60 to 80 divisions, 30 of them armored, which the French authorities earlier estimated as necessary to defend a front between the North Sea and the Swiss border. Moreover, as things stand, the completion of the planned program is far distant. The united force for the defense of Western Europe is still largely a paper screen.

Western Union planning is now being extended into Atlantic Pact planning. That widens, but hardly strengthens, the framework. Of the countries on the flanks of the Western Europe group, Italy has eight incomplete infantry divisions, meagerly equipped with obsolescent British and American material. She is planning to produce four more, including one armored and one Alpine division. On the other flank, Denmark has plans for creating two small divisions, and Norway the equivalent of two in brigades, but they are still on paper, and would be only skeletons until mobilization took place.

What could the USA contribute? She forms the "general reserve" of the defense, just as Britain forms the "local reserve." But, like the latter, she could provide no more on the ground than the small force already in Germany, except after a long delay—increased by the problem of sea transport. There have been six divisions in the USA, but two of these are being dispatched to reinforce the four in the Far East, and more may be drawn there.

What has Russia available? General Omar Bradley stated last autumn that Russia had 175 operational divisions; that she could increase this total to 300 divisions within 60 days, and to 500 divisions within a few months after mobilization. Emanuel Shinwell recently repeated the same figures of Russia's present operational strength —"some 175 active divisions, of which one-third are mechanized and tank divisions, comprising about 25,000 tanks." But in Paris the present total first-line strength was estimated at about 170 infantry divisions *and* 35 armored divisions, besides a large number of specialized formations. It is a staggering total in comparison with the puny scale of Western defense, even as planned for 1952.

In some quarters I found a tendency to emphasize, comfortingly, that Russian divisions are little more than half the size of Western divisions. But against that must be set the fact that the Red Army has a much smaller "tail" than Western armies, which are lavish in their administrative services. British and American military authorities have reposed much faith in the argument that the Russian forces are poorly equipped and Russia's satellites still worse, compared with their own; but this complacent assumption has hardly been borne out in Korea.

There are known to be some 30 Russian divisions in East Germany, including eight armored divisions, with an estimated 40 divisions close behind which could quickly start moving to back up a westward thrust. It is hard to see any warrant for believing that the present "paper screen" on the Western side of the Iron Curtain could offer any prolonged resistance to the spearhead itself, if this delivered a sudden thrust. The prospect would look no better, even if the Western countries had warning in time to mobilize their whole available strength. For Russia's capacity to reinforce the spearhead far exceeds their capacity to reinforce the defense.

We are left with the question whether it would be possible, by speed-up measures or new means, to create in the near future an adequate defense of Western Europe—if there is a breathing space. Supplementary to this are the questions whether there can be any defense of the West without the Germans, whether their participation is practicable, and whether the risk would exceed the gain. These crucial issues will be examined in the subsequent articles.

The gap between the present situation and any solid security is immense. Although the countries of Western Europe have been spending nearly £1 billion a year on defense, the security obtained is hardly more than if they had maintained merely a line of ordinary policemen.

London

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THE SHORTAGE OF DOCTORS

by Jean Begeman

THE OBDURACY of the American Medical Association, which for four years has deprived the nation of federal health insurance, will jeopardize the care of our armed forces and the health of all civilians if the present war emergency grows.

President Truman has repeatedly pointed out that the United States needs about 20 percent more doctors and vastly more health technicians, even in peacetime. In spite of numerous requests from the President for federal aid for medical education and hospital construction, Congress has chosen to listen to organized medicine and its allied lobbies against these measures. A bill sponsored by Representative Andrew Biemiller (D, Wisc.) to provide a five-year program of federal grants to medical schools to meet the cost of instruction and equipment has been blocked for two years by what Biemiller has termed "the stalling, twisting, turning, conniving tactics of the American Medical Association." As a result, even the crisis in Korea is straining our supply of trained doctors and nurses.

The Surgeon General of the Army reports that it has been impossible to obtain the 354 doctors for the Army or the 400 doctors for the Navy that were needed immediately following the Korean outbreak. The Army sent 3,000 letters to medical reservists urging them to volunteer for active duty. Twenty-eight hundred ignored the appeal entirely. Of the 200 who replied, a mere 15 volunteered.

The drain on our medical resources which will take place if the Korean war continues will be staggering. In World War II, many areas already suffering from a shortage of doctors were completely deprived of regular medical service. The Army alone took from civilian practice: 46,362 doctors, 14,620 dentists, 57,446 nurses and 26,305 medical technicians. Our need for medical care in the event of another general war would, of course, make even these numbers insignificant.

Dr. P. J. Carroll, dean of the school of medicine of Creighton University at Omaha, Nebraska, in urging passage of Biemiller's bill, has pointed out that:

> In the event of another World War, we shall not be able to leave the civilian population without adequate medical services as was done during the last war. There was no conflict or even a threat of conflict within our borders. The next war will be different. Our large cities will be enemy targets and a large part of the population will be evacuated. It will be necessary to disperse our civilian population in small concentrations away from military installations. . . . The greater the dispersion of our people the greater will be the need for more physicians.

Certainly military and civilian needs cannot both be met if some of the privately owned schools, which comprise 42 of the 78 medical schools in the whole country, are allowed to close their doors for lack of funds.

The minimum program which this Congress has before it would provide about $5 million annually for construction of medical-school buildings and equipment, and a sliding scale of grants to schools, for student training, from $39 million the first year to $54 million the fifth. It would make a federal contribution of up to $500 for each medical student already enrolled and up to $1,000 for each new student. Today a student's tuition pays for just one-fourth of the cost.

Until now, the AMA has been able to block this program without stirring up any vast amount of public indignation. The general public and the average doctor-member of the AMA both accept the fact that the country needs more doctors, more nurses and more hospitals. But the manipulators of organized medicine have shaped their propaganda without heeding that attitude. On specific legislation, according to insiders in Congress, the AMA has a notorious record of "compromise and then oppose the compromise."

Almost the only organized support for medical preparedness has come from the Committee for the Nation's Health, a small group of independent doctors and citizens who have stood behind all phases of the Administration's health program. But the Committee is a puny David beside the AMA Goliath—it is able to raise and spend less than a penny for each AMA dollar used to lobby against the health program. "Organized medicine," the Committee reports, "last year . . . budgeted over $2 million against the President's program . . . and distributed 55 million pieces of propaganda during those 12 months."

The Association of American Medical Colleges found, on polling its membership, that most of them not only do not agree with the AMA's position but feel a "great urgency" for federal aid to the medical schools. Returns from 63 schools showed 47 favorable to such legislation and only 16 opposed. Of 26 state-owned schools covered, 14 favored and 12 opposed. Of the 35 private institutions whose plight is the most critical, 31 were favorable, only four opposed.

In its agitation against federal health protection, the AMA has had the help of the formidable insurance and housing lobbies and the US Chamber of Commerce, all three of which have spent heavily and distributed in large amounts anti-health-insurance and anti-medical-aid literature.

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HAROLD L. ICKES: *Heil Franco! Heil Franco! Heil Franco!*

FREQUENTLY in the past, Senator McCarran of Nevada —that proud state of easy divorces, open gambling and free-flowing liquor—has told the Senate what to do. His latest exploit has been to assume responsibility for foreign policy by fathering a loan of $100 million to Gangster Franco. To be sure, this bold raid on the US Treasury had been stopped on a former occasion, and could have been defeated again. It was only after the McCarran amendment had passed the Senate that Secretary Acheson protested.

President Truman denounced this surrender to Franco. But 34 Democratic Senators, a majority, headed by "Leader" Lucas, surrendered unconditionally. Every Republican Senator, excepting only four, was counted on the side of Fascist Spain. A scant 15 Senators had enough courage to vote as free men, while of these 15, only Lehman of New York and Morse of Oregon spoke against the loan.

It might have been different if a daisy-petal-pulling Secretary of State had taken a firm stand earlier against Fascist-loving McCarran and his pals. Lucas, Connally, Tydings, *et al.*, did not go to the trouble to consult their own President on the subject of this compromising loan. Senator Lucas defensively whimpered that he and his retreating majority had simply acted as "realistic" men.

"Realistic" indeed! Did the Senator mean that he and other candidates for reëlection in November believed they could improve their chances of success by this raid upon Marshall Plan funds? It may be that this Fascist salute by the Senators to the pocket-size Spanish replica of Hitler, with "Heil Franco!" on their lips, may prove a boomerang to every Senator who was thus willing to abase himself for a political purpose.

Russia will not overlook the opportunity to capitalize on such cowardice and hypocrisy. Nor is this all. How can the Western European countries view with less than contempt this craven betrayal of the principles that we have been vaunting? Not only do Italy and France despise Franco, but so do other freedom-loving countries that lack our wealth and strength, but possess courage and character. Everyone knows the close ties that existed between Hitler and Franco. Everyone knows how Franco vainly cheered Hitler on to victory. He was ready to fight by Hitler's side if called upon. After the fall of Hitler and Mussolini, Franco, although still a Fascist, became eloquently silent. Later, he began to reach out for American money in order to buttress his totalitarian regime. McCarran and James A. Farley initiated pilgrimages to Madrid. McCarran was as eager to have his picture taken with Franco, as Franco had been to pose before the camera with Hitler. I wonder whether McCarran displays in his office the well-known picture of Hitler and Franco, as well as the one of himself and Franco posing as ideological Siamese twins.

Again, so far as the State Department is concerned, it has been a matter of "too little, too late." The Department has known of the plottings of Franco in Washington. Again and again, its attention has been called to the presence of a highly-paid Franco lobby, headed by José Felix de Lequerica. This includes Americans who have been willing, for hire, to wear the livery of a Fascist dictator who has drowned, in the blood of fellow-Spaniards, liberty of speech, liberty of assembly and liberty of worship. De Lequerica, as Franco's ambassador to Vichy, was a close friend of the unutterable Laval. Collaborating with vicious Nazis at Vichy, he gave a dinner to celebrate the Japanese victory at Pearl Harbor. Like his master, Franco, he has been and is a bitter enemy of America. Despite which, he has been embraced by men and women who pretend to hate totalitarianism and who prate of their high democratic principles.

With the silent consent of the State Department and assisted by Franco's well-greased lobby, de Lequerica has been permitted for over two years to weave his web here. The undiscriminating have toadied to this undesirable. He is an "inspector of embassies" with the title of ambassador. But he has presented no credentials to the State Department. He is not registered as a foreign agent. His name is not carried anywhere publicly as the representative of Spain—which he is. On the contrary, Senor Don Eduardo Propper is advertised as Chargé d'Affaires. Propper, too, was enthusiastically pro-Hitler when he was at Vichy with de Lequerica. After the fall of Hitler, Franco proposed Propper to France to be counsellor of the Spanish Embassy. Self-respecting France would have none of him. So he was sent to soft and simple Washington, which readily and without question accepted another Fascist enemy. Here he is in reality under the direction of de Lequerica, who has no credentials.

In view of the record, Senator McCarran cannot be held entirely responsible for our obsequiousness toward Franco. The State Department must share the blame. Why has it given the skulking de Lequerica, minion of bloody-handed Franco, the freedom of Washington? Why has this bitter Fascist foe of democracy been allowed to trample upon laws which the State Department and the Department of Justice are swift to invoke against others whose threat to our institutions is negligible compared with his?

HAROLD L. ICKES

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

THE ORDEAL OF OWEN LATTIMORE

by James R. Newman

OF THE NUMEROUS persons tried for heresy before Congressional committees in the last few years, Owen Lattimore, a recent defendant, stands out for his spirit, his clear comprehension of the broader issues at stake and, not least, for his refusal to truckle, to permit himself to be degraded by an ordeal designed to impose degradation.

This book is the story of what happened to Lattimore, a Johns Hopkins professor and expert on Far Eastern affairs, when he was accused by a squalid politician of being the principal Soviet espionage agent in the United States; a narrative of his defense and vindication told capably, honestly, sometimes angrily —as, of course, it should be—yet without rancor. It is something of a journalistic feat considering that Lattimore had no more than a month to write it; and, though by no means free of blemishes (for example, the book is often long-winded because Lattimore obviously had not the time to be short-winded), it has comparatively few of the errors of style and organization characteristic of books written in haste. Besides giving a first-hand, connected and documented account of the entire wretched episode, Lattimore, in his concluding chapters, offers an enlightening assessment of the melancholy trend in our affairs: the swelling tide of panic, the growing irresponsibility of the press, the steady erosion of the safeguards against tyranny provided in the Bill of Rights, the encroachments on individual freedom, and the sterility, not to say fatuity, of some of the principal assumptions underlying US foreign policy.

ORDEAL BY SLANDER, by Owen Lattimore (Little Brown; $2.75).

The main features of Lattimore's story are too well known to require recapitulation here. It will be sufficient to comment on a few highlights.

Lattimore was fortunate in being able to make his defense before a subcommittee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The House Un-American Activities Committee, even with J. Parnell Thomas tucked away, would have been less kind and assuredly less competent. Even so, the hearings show the urgent need for reform of the procedures of legislative investigating committees. No opportunity was granted to cross-examine the accusers. Witnesses of the stripe of Budenz and Freda Utley were gravely and fully heard. Budenz was treated with exquisite consideration, and Miss Utley, had she been less reckless in her wild nonsense, would have escaped even the mild rebukes that were administered; neither witness was accessible to questioning by Lattimore's counsel.

The chief Republican prosecutor, Joseph McCarthy's mouthpiece, was Senator Bourke B. Hickenlooper, a vigilante from Iowa, selected for this role for his pertinacity, his immovable preconceptions, and, I assume, for his glowing record as the impresario of last year's Republican carnival devoted to the burning of David Lilienthal. The subcommittee's counsel, a former FBI agent named Edward P. Morgan, seemed pathetically beyond his depth and in so far as he managed to keep up with the testimony and to participate was apparently more intent on demonstrating his own untarnished patriotism than on eliciting facts pertinent to the charges. It is a hazardous practice, in a political proceeding of this kind, with the outcome uncertain, to let yourself be carried away by an unseemly passion for truth.

As for the conduct of the Democratic majority, Lattimore's report recalls vividly my own experience as counsel to a Congressional committee. With all decent will and seriousness of purpose on the part of the managers—and in this case there was a good measure of both —Congressional hearings of this kind have moments taken straight from the pages of Lewis Carroll. A dream-like logic seems to rule the succession of events: the questions form a hodgepodge unrelated either to the preceding answers, to one another, or to the issues at trial; often, indeed, the answers appear to precede the questions; but no one shows surprise. The judges are strongly imbued with a sense of dignity and decorum, somewhat less strongly with an understanding of the sphere of relevance. There is a pretense of stern indifference to the press and the spectators, yet there are unmistakable signs of distress when the hearings are poorly attended and the cameramen absent themselves. Finally, there is a tendency, during interludes of excitement, for everyone to speak at once; and a reverse tendency, at other times, for everyone except the questioner and the witness to doze.

Under the circumstances, Lattimore did very well. He kept knocking Hickenlooper down—politely—until the Senator finally subsided; he made a good impression on most of the judges, the audience and the press; he avoided the servilities, the pious affirmations, the sleazy compromises that not a few others have been too weak to resist. Nonetheless he could not altogether escape humiliation: his lawyers and his wife prepared, before his return to this country, a mimeographed sheet of excerpts from his writings intended to show his "real point of view," *i.e.*, his opposition to Communism and to the control of China by Russia; it was necessary for him to take oath that he was not now, had never been, had never been affiliated with, associated with, sympathized with, etc., etc.; he had to controvert charges that photographs he had taken on a trip to Alaska were part of his nefarious duties as a Soviet spy by showing the pictures, which were of Eskimo children, dogsleds and sunsets; he had to accommodate Senator McMahon who was "especially insistent that I file with the Committee a full list of denunciations of me by the Russians." Evidence of this kind is today regarded, even by otherwise sensible men, as possessing probative weight in

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judicial determinations of "loyalty."

And, indeed, what alternative is there to playing the idiot in the idiot's kingdom? In time of panic the ordinary becomes the extraordinary, the fantastic and the unlikely become the commonplace. Terror obscures every landmark of common sense: the normal thought processes are either reversed or suspended. Since a victim must be found to appease terror, the accuser is a benefactor for having cried out; the accused, at the least, a troublemaker for defending himself. If it were suggested that Communists are, like reptiles, oviparous, the accused would be well-advised not to scoff but instead to produce his birth certificate. The charges confronting Lattimore were in many respects no less absurd though much more difficult to refute. Wholly discredited third-hand stories, decades old, had to be run down and again refuted. Details of who said what to whom at a picnic five years ago were reassembled; affidavits were procured from great numbers of persons scattered all over the country; witnesses summoned; testimonials elicited. All this entailed great expense; much of it was not even intended to show that lies which everyone knew were lies were in fact lies, but to prove that Lattimore, on the whole, stood safely within the zone of "anti-Communism," as the boundaries of that zone are today defined by the legislative arbitrers.

Of Joseph R. McCarthy, nothing Lattimore has to say can match the actual record. As its crown we now have the unprecedented report of the Senate subcommittee branding McCarthy as a deliberate perjurer, deserving of expulsion from the Senate. (Let the names of Tydings, Green and McMahon be remembered for an honorable service rendered in a dismal hour.)

Yet it is dangerous to adopt the easy conclusion that McCarthy and a few others like him are the root of the evil that besmirches the country. Lattimore does not lose sight of this point. The widespread confusion, the sense of guilt and anxiety deriving from the failure of constructive leadership have created an atmosphere most favorable to appeals to passion and unreason. Once independence of mind and opinion are regarded with suspicion and disfavor, it becomes easier for mischievous men to speculate upon the weaknesses of sovereign authority, to awaken atavisms and provoke social disorders. Yet it is an unhappy fact that well-meaning fools can and have, to an even greater extent than the professional sowers of dissension, imperiled the freedom of thought. Lattimore makes it plain that it is the general indifference to witch-hunting, the failure to recognize its causes, that constitutes a far greater menace to freedom than the actual misdeeds of the witch-hunters. A foreign policy steered by a map on which two-thirds or more of the globe are depicted either as evil, tenebrous regions, or lands of contagion to be avoided; a domestic policy primarily devoted to preparation for war, and in large measure executed in secrecy; a national climate afflicted by growing mutual mistrust, anti-intellectualism, and the elevation of stool-pigeons to the status of the men of Concord and Lexington—these constitute circumstances not merely propitious to despotism but forcing its advent.

> In my opinion, the main evil of the present democratic institutions of the United States does not arise, as is often asserted in Europe, from their weakness, but from their irresistible strength. I am not so much alarmed at the excessive liberty which reigns in that country as at the inadequate securities which one finds there against tyranny.

These are de Tocqueville's words written more than a century ago; the ordeal of Owen Lattimore gives tragic confirmation to their prescience.

TALE OF WOE

THE ENGLISH MIDDLE CLASSES, by Roy Lewis and Angus Maude (Alfred A. Knopf; $3.75).

THIS BOOK, like its subject, is more deserving than successful. It is quite clear what the authors set out to do: they wanted to show that the English middle classes had been responsible for everything that was great and admirable in English life and that they were now being squeezed out of existence by the policy of the Socialist government. This is a good fighting thesis, if not a novel one. But the book does not establish itself. Instead, the authors seem to have discovered as they went along that writing a book is more difficult than they at first imagined; and writing a book in collaboration most difficult of all. The cursed thing about writing is that the words insist on bolting like a flock of sheep instead of going where you want them to; and when there are two shepherds it is impossible to get the sheep into an orderly procession. The result is a rambling series of reflections on the English middle classes, some with merit, some without. The subject is really a hopeless one. "Middle class" is all very well as a vague literary term; it is useless as a scientific category. It does not make sense to lump together the captain of industry, who benefits from inflation, with the salaried clerk, who is ruined by it. Most English history is made up of conflicts between different elements of this "middle class"; in fact it is difficult to think of any other class who counted in our history, or does so now. As Engels pointed out long ago, in England even the workers are bourgeois, and the same applies to the aristocracy.

The historical chapters which open the book have not much relevance to what comes after and can safely be skipped. When they get to contemporary England, the authors make some valid points. The most important is what they call the middle-class sense of guilt. It is, I think, true that the possession of superior ability, still more the using of this ability to acquire superior rewards, is widely regarded in England as wicked, even by those who possess the ability. This is one of the fundamental realities of our Western world and is not confined to England: to judge from de Tocqueville, it has existed in the United States for more than a century. It may be very silly, but it has to be accepted; and no Western society will again tolerate great extremes of rewards, even though this may be the best way of getting things done. The authors do not make the mistake of treating this feeling as restricted to the working classes: indeed, it is a middle-class characteristic, and the effect of it is to make our society more middle-class than before.

Rather late in the book, the authors come to their essential theme—the change in the middle-class way of life; small families, no domestic servants, and snob schools rapidly getting too expensive for them. This last is certainly

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the most remarkable thing in English middle-class habits, indeed the most remarkable thing in modern English history. England is the only country in the world (outside Russia) which has a two-class system of education—one system for the masters, another for the slaves; and democracy will never amount to much in England so long as this extraordinary system keeps going. The authors incline toward the illusion that children get a better education at "public" schools; this is not confirmed by the evidence of examinations. What they get is the mark of superiority. No wonder that Hitler wanted to imitate this system, or that the Russians follow its example in their special schools for the "cadres"—the children of leading party officials. If the two-class system of education disappeared in England, the middle class would disappear with it. Instead, the effect of recent educational reform has been to strengthen the position of the snob schools. There is now no halfway house between paying enormous fees for education and paying nothing at all; and the middle classes prefer paying enormous fees, especially as there is not much else to spend their money on. By an odd paradox, the drabber middle-class life becomes, the more powerful the middle classes are as a result.

The authors, too, have been pulled toward this conclusion; and this disturbs their earlier intention to write a cautionary tale, showing what dreadful things happen to the middle classes in the Welfare State. On the contrary: the Welfare State makes the middle classes more important than ever, and this is strengthened by other tendencies which have nothing to do with the Welfare State. For instance, even war is nowadays mostly a matter of filling up forms; and the ability to do this is now the essential middle-class qualification. Even in Parliament members of middle-class character outnumber those of working-class origin in the ranks of the Labour Party. James Burnham discovered all this, for what it is worth, years ago. What is true about England is that enterprise and initiative count for less and steady administrative ability counts for more than they used to do. But this is true throughout Western civilization, even where there is no Welfare State. For those who like the safe, middle-of-the-road life, England is still the best place to be. It's not much fun; but when was fun a middle-class virtue?

A. J. P. TAYLOR

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BRIEF COMMENT

The Lost Plays of Eugene O'Neill. Introduction by Lawrence Gellert (New Fathoms Press; $3).

Considerable ambiguity attends the publication of these early O'Neill pieces. It is not clear in what sense they were "lost," nor where or by whom they were found; they are released with no explanation from the author and probably without his consent. But, propriety aside, the plays (written when O'Neill was in his mid-twenties) are unexpectedly rewarding. The book is a rare exception to the rule that what a writer shoves to the back of the drawer is best left there, even by his executors.

There are five plays in the volume, all but one of them one-acters. Their vocabulary and the terms of their conflicts seem impossibly naïve today. The characters are wooden, they strike attitudes of such humorless solemnity that the reader is left gaping and an audience would be demoralized. But in other respects they reveal a talent which, at least by hindsight, is unmistakable. Despite their artificiality, all five of them deal with issues that are not at all artificial. In later years, O'Neill stated his ideas more subtly, clothed them in more tangible flesh, but in these exercises he was at grips with the moral world that has occupied him ever since.

Furthermore, these plays are constructed with extraordinary workmanship. They are firmly set on the stage, tightly organized, written so that every line works for its author. O'Neill may not enjoy having his exuberant innocence displayed at this late date, but he will not be embarrassed by his apprentice craftsmanship. And because these plays are simple frameworks, the perfect theatrical carpentry is bare for everyone to study. R. H.

The Dead Stay Young, by Anna Seghers (Little, Brown; $4).

Anna Seghers' new novel opens in Germany, 1916, with the shooting of a Communist boy by a group of German officers; it closes with the suicide (by shooting) of one of those same officers just before he is taken prisoner by the triumphant Russians in 1945. Within this circle, the author encloses a large web made of the threads which sustained Hitler's Germany.

Covering a broad sweep of possible types, she gives us the boys who go from relief lines to the Hitler Youth Movement or Communist Youth groups; we have the nationalist of Junker background who will fight for the Vaterland no matter who leads; the opportunist who doesn't examine the hand which offers adventure and power; the soldier-farmer for whom the brutality of Nazism and war provide a happy climate; the businessman whose supra-national calculations keep his streams of profit sweetly flowing through all upheavals. There are, too, the anti-Fascists—the withdrawn Socialist worker who is inevitably pulled by his own decency to active resistance; his wife Marie, an ignorant, apologetic girl who emerges as a tower of strength, sustaining her family and neighbors in their struggles.

Unfortunately, this panoramic view loses scale from lack of depth. The characters remain types. Had Mrs. Seghers been willing to make deeper exploratory incisions into fewer characters, the effect might have been more vital, as in her *The Seventh Cross*. Here the stock types move through bare, awkward prose in the expected channels, arriving at a moral which is as familiar as it is unassailable—men of good will must band together and vanquish social and political evil.

It is an ungrateful job to withhold enthusiasm from this novel of high purpose, but although it deals with recent history, the total effect of *The Dead Stay Young* is curiously anachronistic and stale. Possibly, it is because the author has offered no new insights into well-known, though valid material. Possibly, the material is not handled well enough to give it real stature. Or could it derive from the reader's feeling that the political novelist should be ready to isolate and examine the new postwar strains of the old virus? KATE SIMON

ON THE AIR

Blow by Blow

Lake Success

THE RECENT excitement over Korea has brought a crowd of radio and television people out to Lake Success. After what began as an extremely dull summer season, these media have once more discovered the UN.

The groundwork for the excellent air coverage of the UN was prepared by the United Nations Radio Division. From the day the Korean "police action" hit the front pages, the entire division—from policy-makers to script writers, announcers and engineers—was geared for instantaneous service. Con-

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sequently, when American broadcasting found it expedient to use the United Nations facilities, in both radio and television, the staff, brains and know-how were here.

Hundreds of radio stations daily receive the program "United Nations Today," which, in 15 minutes of skillfully, honestly edited recordings, provides the highlights of that very day's discussion in the Security Council. I have been listening to that broadcast over WOR, Mutual's key station in the New York area, and I find it excellent objective reporting.

Among the national chains, ABC, with Miss Frederick at the microphone, has given the most consistent and complete coverage. The best blow-by-blow accounts of the international dart game in the Council chamber have been the radio reporting over New York City's municipally-owned station, WNYC, and the television reporting of the combined TV networks, which have pooled their resources.

The Korean situation has proved, once again, that in wartime air audiences want their news often, and sensibly treated. Newcasts and commentaries have increased in number, and the quality, on the whole, has been good. Among the voices now heard again on the air is that of Raymond Swing, silent since ABC decided about two years ago that he wasn't commercial enough. Now WOR puts him on locally three nights a week. He ought to be on six nights, nationally. Swing is still the quiet, mature, understanding commentator we used to welcome on the air.

The exception to the low quality of general programming this year was a series of four half-hours, broadcast on successive weeks by NBC, under the title "The Quick and the Dead." One of NBC's vice presidents, William F. Brooks, and one of its top producers, Fred Friendly, made this program an outstanding example of what network resources can accomplish if the facilities (and money) are used wisely and without pretending that the average audience age-level is somewhere between 10 and 12.

"The Quick and the Dead" discussed atomic energy, providing a "biography" of the atomic and hydrogen bombs, as well as a summary of the peaceful uses, present and potential, to which nuclear physics might be put. The format was extremely simple, in keeping with the program's own logical demands. Bob Hope, as interrogator, asked questions of William L. Laurence of the New York *Times*. Laurence introduced atomic scientists and a few military figures who provided the answers which he then interpreted. There was no hesitancy to use scientific language, no phony "popularization." Brooks and Friendly acted on the assumption that listeners will pay attention if the subject is important enough. They didn't even use background music which, too often, mars educational broadcasts because producers feel that a serious thought must never be stated on the air unless it is accompanied by a dozen bassoons. The result of all this sensible planning is that "The Quick and the Dead" must be put down as one of the best network documentary-educational jobs in many years.

On this program, Friendly worked entirely with magnetic tape, an extremely flexible medium of recording which reproduces sound with high fidelity. I have mentioned magnetic tape here several times in recent months because I have been employing that technique in my own extra-curricular activities as co-producer (with Eleanor Gardiner) of the documentary record album, "This Is the UN." For several weeks, I have had on my desk a letter from a reader who fears that editing of recordings by magnetic tape opens the door to dishonesty. The tape cutter can cut out whole sections from anybody's spoken utterance, the listener cannot tell the difference, and the whole performance has the irresistible air of verisimilitude which goes with the sound of the human voice. That danger does exist. But since the subject is technical, I'll content myself right now with mentioning it only by way of praising Friendly for having carefully avoided such pitfalls. I'll go into tape recording in greater detail another time.

SAUL CARSON

THEATRE: Ladies of Another Time

THE FESTIVAL THEATRE, an enterprise which has rented the Fulton for eight weeks to put on a series of revivals, is another meritorious effort to break through the bottleneck of "big-time" Broadway production. It is extremely difficult to get certain good plays of the past done in New York without the aid of "name" actors, most of whom are artistically timid, commercially unfeasible or otherwise unavailable. The City Center and the off-Broadway groups are responsible for most of the revivals we see. The Festival Theatre is attempting to assemble well-known actors for moderate-priced revivals by limiting the runs of the plays to two weeks.

The first play on the program was Henry Becque's "La Parisienne"; the second is Ibsen's "Lady from the Sea." The two plays are almost totally dissimilar, except that they were both written at about the same time (the first in 1885, the second in 1888) and both have women as their central figures.

"La Parisienne" is not a French farce; "The Lady from the Sea" is neither a symbolic drama nor a study of neurosis. That both plays are generally viewed in such a light is evidence that to a considerable degree producers and actors of these plays share in our audience's lack of background for them. It is not true that any good play can be understood by any passably intelligent audience, nor that any group of competent theatre people is in a position to interpret any good play. What is needed, to begin with, is a steady point of reference on both sides of the footlights—the point of reference being a common sharing in, or at least understanding of, the life from which the play issues.

"La Parisienne," which the French call a "tough comedy," marked a kind of innovation in the history of their drama, because Becque treated adultery without flippancy, sentimental tearfulness or tragic solemnity. He eschewed any definite moral attitude toward his lady's affairs: he regarded them as typical, one might almost say, average. We now live in a time, he seemed to say, when married, middle-class women of

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conservative background and respectable domestic behavior see no alarming contradiction between their traditional duties and their extra-marital affairs. Becque's Parisienne is not only anxious to help her husband further his career, but also dead serious when she accuses her lover of not being sufficiently devoted to her husband.

The tone of "La Parisienne" is light without frivolity, tart without indignation, cruelly observant without scornful grimace. The Festival Theatre company, utterly foreign to the play's atmosphere, stylized the play without achieving any style, working hard without comprehension. Faye Emerson is most attractive and not without ability, but wholly American, and thus miscast as the Parisienne. Francis Lederer held the show together by being farcically funny, but for that very reason he was wrong as one of her lovers.

The fact that most of us regard Ellida, Ibsen's "lady from the sea," as a kind of psychoanalytic subject proves how remote we are from Ibsen's world. There are innumerable women today in Ellida's state of mind, women who, incidentally—and despite all the jokes—never see an analyst; but the—to us—romantic way Ellida expresses her problem is characteristic of her epoch and the place in which Ibsen has set the story.

Ibsen was a rebel against middle-class stuffiness and fraud: "The Lady from the Sea" is one of the variations on this theme. Hedda Gabler kills herself because she feels trapped in her middle-class environment without—unlike Nora in "A Doll's House"—being brave enough to break with it. Ellida discovers that she prefers such an environment, and can live happily within it, if she makes a conscious and free choice of it on her own responsibility. That she thinks of escape in terms of the sea and of a sailor, that she speaks of dolphins and other watery matters, is not a sign of Ibsen's mysticism but of his realism, since an educated woman of that day, living in a Norwegian coastal village, would normally think in what to us are symbolic or "pretentious" terms. Do we have such small towns in America now, and do our well-bred wives read nineteenth-century Norwegian, German, English or French poetry? And are we more or less "advanced" because they don't?

A good company plays "Lady from the Sea" in the Festival Theatre revival. But the acting, for all its occasional merits, particularly in the case of Steven Hill, does not make sense of Ibsen's drama. For example, a young girl who is indifferent to the idea of a friend's impending death, in Ibsen's milieu, is not the same person as a brash urchin in ours. Herbert Berghof is a fine actor, but he is not the assured, always dependable and rather stolidly mature doctor needed to make Ibsen's point: he is too sensitive in the contemporary vein. Luise Rainer is strangely lovely with extraordinary potentialities as a theatric instrument, but one must have an unusually deft touch to play upon her. . . .

Yet for all this, and despite the fact that "Lady from the Sea" is not one of Ibsen's best plays, I was glad the Festival Theatre gave us the opportunity to see and think about it again.

HAROLD CLURMAN

(Continued from page 4)

second one is worse than silly. MacArthur held no such veto power. That I ever aspired to be High Commissioner is either a crude invention or such a misunderstanding of current events as would raise a question as to the professor's qualifications to teach political science. I assure him that I never had such an ambition. At the time, I was not only Secretary of the Interior, but Petroleum Administrator for War, and Coördinator of Hard Fuels and of Fisheries. Also, at the same time, to the extent that a civilian high commissioner could operate in Philippine affairs, I was conducting that operation, under special instructions from the President. It was through me that Presidents Quezon and Osmena carried on in Washington with the United States Government, and the High Commissioner's flag was draped, with others, in my private office.

However, such misinformation or downright invention does not surprise me so far as Professor Colegrove is concerned. The gentleman wrote letters to me back in 1943 violently attacking me for the sorry mess that I was making of my hard-fuels administration. The amusing part of the professor's 1943 curtain lectures was his admission, "Of course I will admit that I do not have all the facts." The gentleman, in 1943, dubbed himself "Professor I-Do-Not-Know-All-the-Facts." His communication to you indicates his determination to continue worthy of his 1943 estimate of himself.

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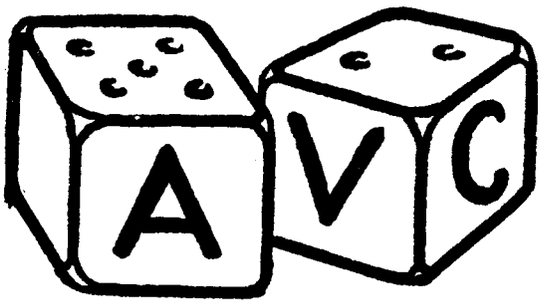

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